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The *adultos* consist of married adults and heads of families. Marriage is important as initiating the adult status, and it is the most productive one for both men and women. The adults are the most important group both economically and politically and they run the society. If adult males carry most of the responsibilities, they also enjoy many privileges. They may smoke and drink, have affairs with women, beat their wives, and otherwise exercise male prerogatives. These prerogatives are not supposed to apply to unmarried youths, but when young men begin to get drunk and run around with women, it is said that they "are becoming men."

The status of the aged is, theoretically, one of great respect. Old men and women can address anyone in the familiar *tú* and in return are to be addressed by *Vd*. But sometimes the more endearing *abuelito* or *papacito* is used. To contradict an *anciano* and certainly to beat an old man is an outrage; "it is like beating your own father." The status of the aged, however, is by no means an enviable one, particularly when old people can no longer support themselves. Children are supposed to support aged parents but there are cases of extreme neglect and the theme, "I would rather die than depend upon my children" is frequently heard. The old people do not take part in politics and in general do not have positions of leadership. Because of the rapidly changing culture, the *ancianos* are out of step with the times. Many speak Spanish poorly and have difficulty even in communicating with their grandchildren. In some cases the younger generation, particularly those who have been away to school, are embarrassed by the old-fashioned dress, speech, and manners of their grandparents.

RACE

Race is not an important factor in status in Tepoztlán, and racial prejudice hardly exists. Although Tepoztecans are quite sensitive to color differences, there are no distinct racial groups as such recognized in the village. The three distinctions most commonly made are *blanco, prieto,* and *indio*. The *blancos* are those with light skin and light eyes, characteristics which are definitely favored. The *prietos* are those with dark skin. The term *indio* has various connotations. Sometimes it is used as the equivalent of *campesino* as opposed to the city man; thus it may be said, "Here in Tepoztlán we are all *indios* and we get along on very little, whereas the city people are very demanding." At other times the word *indio* is used to designate low socio-cultural status, "el pobre, como es indito, no sabe ni siquiera hablar bien" (because the poor thing is Indian he can't even speak well). In this sense, many refer to the inhabitants of the smaller and poorer barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián as *indios*. *Indio* is also used as a term of criticism in reference to one who has poor self-control and is capable of violence. Thus Tepoztecans will say, "In Amatlán they are very Indian, if one is not careful he may be assassinated."

Basically, the term "Indian" is used to designate social status rather than physical type. A wealthy dark person who dresses in city style may not be considered *blanco,* but neither will he be called *indio*. On the other hand, a rich person who continues

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to dress in the white *calzones* and huaraches like most Tepoztecans, may be called "un indio platudo," a wealthy Indian, or literally "a silvered Indian." Thus, the residents of Gabriel Mariaca are often described as "esos inditos tienen harta lana, son platudos."

The term *negro* or *negra* is sometimes used as a term of abuse. An irate husband may call his wife *negra* or *cambuca* if she is a shade darker than he. But similarly, he may call her *gringa*, if she is somewhat lighter; both terms are intended as insults.

Many of the sons and daughters of the old *cacique* families seem to be lighter than the rest of the population, suggesting that the *caciques* of the Díaz epoch may have had a stronger admixture of Spanish blood than did the rest of the population. However, groupings do not run along racial lines. About an equal sprinkling of light-skinned people is found among the rich and poor, the *cultos*, the *ignorantes*, etc.

WEALTH

The concepts of rich and poor are frequently used designations of social status in Tepoztlán. But the terms are used in a relative way, are not easily defined, and are applied, as a rule, to individuals rather than to groups. All Tepoztecans tend to characterize themselves as poor, and there is no ostentatious display of wealth on the part of the rich. Concealing wealth is a deep-seated trait, done to avoid envy, claims of friends, taxes, and contributions to the church and public affairs. This attitude tends to limit the function of wealth as a factor for social differentiation. And, by and large, the rich in Tepoztlán are not easily distinguishable from the poor.

Both rich and poor work the land dressed in the same white *calzones* and huaraches; both rich and poor hire day laborers when necessary; and men who own property, as well as those who do not, hire themselves out as laborers when cash is needed. Many of the present-day rich families were once poor, and they cling to the habits of hard work and frugality with which they improved their economic status. However, in varying degrees the rich have a higher standard of living than the poor and can be said to eat better, dress better, and live in more comfortable and better equipped homes. But a man's wealth is not judged by the way in which he lives; rather it is estimated in the amount of land, cattle, plow-oxen, and money he has.

In general there is no sharp social distance between the rich and poor, although there is much sensitivity and awareness of differences in economic status. People in Tepoztlán prefer the company of their equals or inferiors, rather than those who are in a superior economic status. But although a rich man may explain the poverty of a neighbor in terms of his being backward and ignorant, he will treat him with due respect.

LAND-OWNERSHIP

The expression, "He has many lands" (land parcels) is the simplest way the Tepoztecan has of designating wealth and high social status. Conversely, when one